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Spanning two oracles. The sanctuary of Demeter at Erochos, between Delphi and Abae

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Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux |
Eric Laufer
ANCIENT PHOKIS

Athenaia 13
Études méditerranéennes 4

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

ATHENAIA 13

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES

**ÉTUDES
MÉDITERRANÉENNES 4**

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux | Eric Laufer (eds.)

ANCIENT PHOKIS

New approaches to its history, archaeology
and topography

International Conference, DAI Athens, 30 March – 1 April 2017

REICHERT VERLAG

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Spanning two oracles. The sanctuary of Demeter at Erochos, between Delphi and Abae

Elena Partida – Anthoula Tsaroucha

»A winter day's journey distant from Delphi was Lilaia«¹. Situated not far from the robust fortification with the »iron gate« and the high tower overlooking the valley of Kephissos river, was the sanctuary of Demeter ἐν Ἐρώχῳ to the north of modern Polydrosos. Laurence B. Tillard² correlated the fortification remains on Agios Vassilios hill with the settlement of Erochos, contributing significantly to the identification of the sanctuary in question. Nevertheless, the town of Erochos is not mentioned in documents of the amphictyony, nor does it appear as a dedicator to the sanctuary of Delphi. Furthermore, it is passed over in silence by ancient authors³. Herodotus refers to the town of Erochos as razed by Xerxes but in which territory's jurisdiction the sanctuary of Demeter fell both in terms of administration and geopolitics, is still obscure⁴. Within the area of the Kephissos valley

Pausanias associates a *thesmophorion* with Drymaia, a polis in the vicinity of Erochos⁵.

A list of contributors to the sanctuary of Delphi names »Ξενοπεΐθης Ἐρωχός« among individuals originating from Elateia and Lilaia⁶. The first composite of this name recurs in a votive epigram quoting »ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ ΞΕΝΟΔΩΡΑ ΑΝΔΡΙΣΚΟΝ ΚΑΦΙΣΩΙ« that was recovered at the springs of Kephissos and correlated⁷ with the statue of a boy: two parents dedicate a marble statue of their son, which confirms the deification of the river. The cult of Kephissos at Lilaia was important and second only to that of Demeter⁸. It is quite likely that the settlement of Erochos was incorporated into neighbouring Lilaia, a town with turbulent military history. The fortification of Lilaia destroyed by Philip II was repaired and its inhabitants revolted following the lead of Patron in an effort to

We wish to thank the Ephorate of Antiquities of Phocis for granting us permission to study and publish this material. References to earlier fieldwork on the site (by Π. Λαζαρίδης and Φ. Ντάσιος) are collected in the bibliography.

¹ Paus. 10, 33, 3 (edition: Jones 1935); cf. Leake 1967, 70. 84; Dodwell 1819, 133.

² Tillard 1910/1911, 60–64.

³ Hansen – Nielsen 2004, 121 n. 22 no. 181.

⁴ Hdt. 8, 33.

⁵ Paus. 10, 33, 12.

⁶ IG IX 1, 111 (336 B.C.).

⁷ Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 2772. Σβορώνος 1909, 168–178. For the inscription (IG IX 1, 232), see Frazer 1898, 414, who saw the slab in situ with a pedimental crown, so it is improbable that it had been affixed onto the statue's pedestal.

⁸ McInerney 1999, 269 f., referring also to Lilaia, the daughter of Kephissos.

overthrow the Macedonian garrison. Then, in 209 B.C., the people of Lilaia appear as dedicators at Delphi, setting up a statue of Patron and decrees awarding proxy⁹ to the Pergamene troops who helped them liberate themselves. Of particular interest in these texts is the formulaic phrase »ΙΕΡΗΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΚΑΦΙΣΩΙ«, which corroborates the official worship of the river, all the more so, with appointed priests (Kallikrates and Timagelos) who provide chronological termini. A further archaeological find in favour of an incorporation (sympoliteia is an alternative term plausibly explaining the status quo)¹⁰ are roof-tiles stamped¹¹ as »Αιλαίων« that were recovered in the sanctuary of Erochos. Nevertheless, the origins of three Phocian magistrates from Erochos is explicitly stated in the above-mentioned list of Phocian contributors to the sanctuary of Delphi, dating to 336 B.C.: »ἀρχόντων Φω[κεῦ]σι Ἀρχεδάμου Ἐλατειέος, Κρίτωνος Ἐ[ρωχοῦ], Μελίτωνος Ἐλατειέος, Κρίτωνος Πο...ου, γραματέοντος Τιμαρίου Ἐρωχοῦ«¹².

One of the earliest finds in the area is the grave at Polydroso, furnished with offerings of the Geometric Period¹³, which suggest welfare and cultural contacts. The presence of objects of northern provenance can be justified by the location of Erochos near the »Great Isthmus Corridor«, a mainland route that connected the Maliac with the Corinthian Gulf. Erochos, Delphi and Abae plot a triangle on the map, with Erochos on the apex. At first sight, one assumes that the sanctuary of Demeter was overshadowed by the great prophetic centres. But this was not the case.

The site's excavation by Christos Karouzos in 1928 revealed part of a temenos, interpreted as the segment of a precinct with a propylon and stairs¹⁴. Abutting against the supposedly Π-shaped precinct were adjacent rooms of identical ground plan, with centripetal orientation, as if they opened out to a peristyle court. Unfortunately an autopsy of the architectural remains (largely re-buried after excavation) is not feasible and the ephorate's archive has yielded no photographs

from the excavation, so no comment can be made on the masonry or its date. Yet, by comparison with other sanctuaries for Demeter, we recognize mutual features of spatial organization. The rooms' common orientation plausibly suggests ritual practices and sacral acts or re-enactments, denoted also by the theatrical formation for standing spectators at Acrocorinth¹⁵, the built tiers at Pergamum, the overall layout at Dion¹⁶ and the positioning of a lateral doorway in the temple at Lykosoura¹⁷ opposite to a flight of stairs.

As regards topography and spatial arrangement, we may compare with the terraced extramural sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene, only to underline the allegoric significance of extra-urban or suburban shrines. Located near a spring and extensive farmlands, the sanctuary of Demeter marked the transition from the city to the countryside. In this respect, it is comparable to Erochos. The arable fields of Cyrene attracted colonists and supplied the rest of Greece with grain, so its people were bound to celebrate the *thesmophoria*, which symbolize the cycle of seasons and the fertility of land capable of sustaining the population. A procession¹⁸ from the Agora to the sanctuary allegorically bonded the urban/civic quarters with the farmlands owned by the city and providing for the inhabitants' welfare. As regards ritual dining, which did take place at Cyrene and Acrocorinth¹⁹, no relevant evidence is available from Erochos, so far. The location of a sanctuary beyond the ἄστυ has been thoroughly discussed²⁰ and generally associated with the character of certain deities. Demeter²¹ is one of them, as her sanctuaries in Selinus²², Gela²³ and Acrocorinth seem remote, withdrawn from the urban district. Apparently some deities were associated with a particular landscape. At any rate, the countryside (ὑπαιθρος, χώρα) is inseparable from the city (ἄστυ) in terms of site-planning, religion and society²⁴.

The finds from Erochos have not been published, except for brief reports²⁵ not including the stored ma-

9 Flacelière 1954, 132.

10 Hansen – Nielsen 2004, 401.

11 SEG 27, 144.

12 IG IX 1, 111. We thank Denis Rousset for kindly providing a transcript of the text.

13 Pendants originating from Macedonia. Bouzek 1974, 122; Αραπογιάννη 1982, 82–85.

14 Karouzos 1928a, 1928b; Πιπέρας 2014, 30.

15 Bookidis 2010, 144.

16 Processions, ceremonies and sacrifices were attended from the Hellenistic stoa: Πιπυγιάτογλου 2010, 206.

17 Rites were probably performed inside the temple of Despoina: Gruben 2000, 147; Mylonopoulos 2006, 96 fig. 9.

18 Which perhaps inspired the Cyrenean poet Callimachus, when he composed the Hymn to Demeter: <<http://www.cyrenaica.org/sanctuary.html>> (01.03.2017). Robertson 2010, 293 f.

19 Bookidis 2010, 148.

20 Polinskaya 2006, 63–67.

21 Cole 1994, 199–216. Usually Demeter's sanctuaries were located outside the city, on a hill slope: Bremmer 2014, 171. However, at Megara and Thebes she resided on the Acropolis, so general rules are hard to apply.

22 The sanctuary of Malophoros 750 m beyond the main gate: Polinskaya 2006, 62.

23 Her sanctuary, just outside the wall, is separated from the city by a river: Cole 1994, 214.

24 Osborne 1996.

25 Karouzos 1928a, 1928b; Πετράκος 1972; Ντάσιος 2015.



1 Clay figurines from the sanctuary of Demeter at Erochos

terial. Impressive at once is the quantity and diversity of finds, wherefrom the sanctuary's longevity and prosperity can be induced. Contemporary with the aforementioned Geometric grave-offerings are the pre-coin/pre-numismatic forms of money, plain rings²⁶ or with lugs, and the metal spits²⁷. To this primitive period dates also the fragment of a spherical aryballos. Beside the many black-glazed phiales, miniature kotylae, pyxis lids and predominantly miniature oenochoae, a (likewise miniature) black-glazed calyx-shaped vase²⁸ falls in the ritual or votive category. Among ceramic finds the hydriae prevail in various contours and are mostly relatively small. Miniature votive offerings are customary in the cult of Demeter, typified in the sanctuary of Demeter

Ποτηριοφόρος²⁹ in Achaea and the *thesmophorion* of Samos³⁰. Especially the hydriae and figurines of *hydriaphoroi* (jug-carriers, *fig. 1*) allude perhaps to ritual purification and lustral processes.

Pottery is further represented by sherds of skyphoi with impressed decoration³¹, sherds of Megarian bowls and others in ›west slope‹ decoration. Among plastic vases worth noting is the miniature black-glazed askos decorated with a palmette in relief. On three occasions, clay vases imitate metal prototypes or, more accurately, reproduce forms of metal vases; characteristic is the sherd with relief decoration shaped after a cauldron handle. It is widely accepted that vessels with plastic ornaments, as well as those following metal prototypes, denote some degree of

26 Αδρύμη 1994, pl. 103; Δακορώνια 1989.

27 Φάκλαρης 1990, 176 pls. 79. 81.

28 Comparable finds in the repository at Kirrha, possibly related to a shrine of the Apollonian triad: Pariente 1991, 237–240.

29 Πετρόπουλος 2010.

30 Τσάκος – Βιγλάκη-Σοφιανού 2012, 189 (3rd to 2nd cent. B.C.).

31 Cf. Ρωμιπούλου 2013, 190.



2 Black-figure kylix from the sanctuary at Erochos

luxury. Their presence at Erochos can be evaluated in a specific context, which we explain below. Among miscellaneous finds, of Northern Greek or Illyrian type³² is a clay loom-weight ornamentally incised with a two-fork pin. The numerous loom-weights recovered at Acrocorinth were attributed to the cult of Demeter Εποικιδία³³.

The painted scene on the exterior of one of the archaic black-figure kylikes (inv. 9232, *fig. 2*) supposedly³⁴ represents a battle. However, all figures move in the same direction and – although they carry weapons – no conflict is displayed. Instead, we opt for the depiction of some ritual act or re-enactment. Almost in a rhythmic pattern female figures alternate with fully armed men, while the two diametrically opposite columns are either the iconographic abbreviation of some edifice (a temple?) or the support of a prize, if the event was a game or a contest³⁵. In semantics, the birds' flight may signify that all creatures of

nature participated in this event. The tondo (*fig. 3*) depicts a male (?) figure, in very fragmentary condition, having just dropped his garment on the ground, in a dramatic gesture, almost in a dancing pose, which may suggest some purification or other ritual. The staff behind him recurs on a Boeotian kylix³⁶, which depicts a male figure in an identical pose, interpreted as a reveller in the context of dancing in honour of Dionysos. A most suitable setting – for purification as much as revelling – would be the springs of Kephissos, a river praised by Homer³⁷, welling up in the vicinity of Erochos. Beside the aforementioned votive jug-bearers found in the sanctuary, the precinct's layout at Priene and the fountain at Pergamum, integrated as a permanent element into the architecture of the sanctuary³⁸, indicate that water was integral to the operation of Demeter's cult. It is worth exploring whether a processional path at Erochos linked the two spots, seeing the extant antiqui-

32 Cf. Blečić Kavur – Pravidur 2012, 80 fig. 17.4.

33 Bookidis 2010, 146.

34 Ντάσιος 2015, 953.

35 Equestrian contests were organized in honour of Demeter at Dion (characteristic is the horse protome on coinage): Πινγιάτογλου 2010, 214.

36 CVA Athens, Cycladic Mus., inv. 754, pl. 48, 1. 2, second quarter of 5th cent. B.C. We thank Vangelis Vivliodetis for this reference.

37 Hom. Il. 2, 523. For further ancient sources, see Frazer 1898, 415.

38 Cole 1994, 204. 213–216.



3 Tondo of kylix from the sanctuary at Erochos

ties by the springs: a polygonal terrace-wall, several architectural members, such as triglyph-blocks fitting the size of a fountain, spolia immured in the Byzantine church of Agia Eleousa³⁹ and the basilica of Agios Christophoros, and also the rock-carved thrones⁴⁰. Besides the re-used spolia tentatively attributed to an ancient temple, Jeremy McInerney⁴¹ expects some sort of quay constructed here in antiquity. Notable is the marble column capital⁴² with lotus-and-acanthus leaves, which additionally suggests a prolonged use of the site.

The tondo of a second kylix (inv. 9233) depicts a woman striding to the right and holding a wreath. We would identify her as a maenad, rather than a Nike⁴³. On the exterior of the kylix a sphinx (?) perched on a pedestal and another winged creature flank a male figure wearing a himation. Probably some of the sherds kept in the storeroom can fill the *lacunae* in the already restored kylikes. We note, for example, the totally compatible sherd showing a male figure with a himation hanging from his extended arm, standing opposite to a winged hybrid/imaginary creature. Connotation with the myth of the Theban sphinx and Oedipus is inevitable, although the tight

relation of the sphinx with the Cyclades⁴⁴, in terms of votive iconography, does not exclude the dedicator's provenance from the Aegean islands. Sherds of a third kylix (inv. 9234) also represent some δρώμενο on the exterior and an altar or pedestal on the interior. Slightly discernible is the edge of a billowing drapery (or wing).

Coroplastic production is well-represented at Erochos, in remarkable quantity and repertoire. The enthroned female figurines and the protomes do not differ from those found at Kirrha. The clay jug-carriers (fig. 1), on the other hand, reflect the evolution of the type, ranging from straight and slender to those with an S-curved outline. Beyond stylistic traits, the iconographic significance of the *hydriaphoros* in the cult of Demeter merits our attention. Her priestess Nikesso at Priene is represented as such in a marble statue⁴⁵ (late 4th–early 3rd century B.C.) restored near the entrance to the sanctuary. Clay idols of pigeons, piglets, boars, bovines (a fragmentary one in bronze), the mended part of a goose's neck and a squatting terracotta canine underline the guise of Demeter as protector of fertility and fauna. A figurine in a short, hunter's chiton is likely to represent Artemis, while

³⁹ Μπάρλα 1967/1968.

⁴⁰ Θρεψιάδης 1973, 86.

⁴¹ McInerney 1999, 270.

⁴² See photograph taken during restoration work in the church of Agia Eleousa (1965) in the archives of the local folkloric association: <<https://lispolydrosou.blogspot.com/search/label/Αγία%20Ελεούσα>> (01.03.2017).

⁴³ Comparable (and more convincing as a Nike) is the winged female figure on a Boeotian kylix of 475–450 B.C.: Σταμπολίδης et al. 2017, 219 cat. 143.

⁴⁴ Holtzmann 1991.

⁴⁵ A hydria would increase the statue's height and balance the (otherwise disproportionately large) pedestal. Μάντης 1983, 123 f. pl. 41; Mylonopoulos 2013, 129.



4 Clay figurine from the sanctuary at Erochos

another intriguing (but weathered) figure riding on horseback (fig. 4) may be recognized as Ἐννοδία⁴⁶, so potentially dedicated by some pilgrim from Thessaly. Fragments of at least four *kourotrophoi* (fig. 5)⁴⁷ have been preserved. Figurines of the Boeotian-Locrian type with a fluffy, voluminous hairstyle, as well as those with a pointed-arched knot above their forehead or a κρωβύλος are difficult to identify as divinities or devout pilgrims. The delicate faces with polos obviously render deities, given the sanctity suggested by this headdress. Pierced female heads would be suspended from a tree branch. Diversity characterizes both their hairstyles and the rendering of facial features. Besides, in the 4th century B.C. the art of the coroplast follows trends and accomplishments of monumental sculpture⁴⁸ in expressing passion and sentiments. Further evidence for the sanctuary's op-

eration in the first half of the 4th century B.C. is provided by standing female terracotta figurines with a high-girdled chiton, as well as worshippers holding offerings. Popular and allegoric was the offering of a duck or a goose⁴⁹ by nude boys and draped girls (fig. 6), to symbolize freedom in flying and, metaphorically, freedom of the soul⁵⁰.

In a fragment of a composite figurine, the stance, the spacing apart and the size of the heads suggest an ἐφεδρισμός (analogous to that from the necropolis of Delphi)⁵¹, interpreted as a game or a gesture of affection⁵² in the 4th century B.C. Contemporary are the Tanagra women – some in the ›Sophoclea‹ variation. The figurine of a man dressed in a himation and holding a pouch may be interpreted as a pedagogue/educator⁵³, if his pouch contained astragals. The objects held by two figurines of youths/ephebes are difficult to discern, yet their posture with a mantle hanging from their shoulder is not uncommon⁵⁴. Ambiguous is the identification of female and male figurines wearing a himation as deities or mortals, especially since their offerings are hardly discernible. Some female figurines lift their garment in grace and elegance, suggesting their walking (in procession?) toward the sanctuary. The characteristic θολίαι and the pointed Phrygian πῖλος drive our interpretation of the respective figurines as travellers⁵⁵ on their way to pilgrimage or participation in some rite.

Muffled faces may sometimes denote travellers⁵⁶ but equally plausibly mantle dancers, related to the cult of Dionysos and the nymphs⁵⁷ during the Hellenistic period. Not every dance was ecstatic. Some moves were much less intense, as demonstrated by the nymph who dances before Pan⁵⁸ and the dancers from the *thesmophorion* at Samos⁵⁹. Nearly dancing is the movement of a clay figurine dressed in a peplos pressed against her body, to render the fabric's transparent thinness, and an unusually rounded, short himation with curved pleats (fig. 7). The posture of another figurine, with her hand resting at her waist,

⁴⁶ Cf. Καραπάνου 2014, 427 and Αδάμ-Βελένη et al. 2017, cat. 329.

⁴⁷ See 3rd cent. B.C. examples from Samos (Τσάκος – Βιγλάκη-Σοφριανού 2012, 192) and ones of the late 4th cent. B.C. from Aigai (Κοτταρίδη 2013, 116).

⁴⁸ Displayed, for example, in the coroplastic production of Pydna: Noulas 2014, 412 f. fig. 7.

⁴⁹ Cf. Merker 2000, 190, 346 H331 (early 3rd cent. B.C.).

⁵⁰ Πέππα-Παππαϊωάννου 2010, 132.

⁵¹ Maass 1996, 197 cat. 158.

⁵² Αδάμ-Βελένη et al. 2017, cat. 286 (400–350 B.C.). Cf. the ›child carried on shoulder‹ type known from Kerameikos (Μπάνου – Μπουρνιάς 2014, 250) and Thebes (Αραβαντινός 2010, 296). Another variation is the nurse-figurine furnishing a grave at Mavrolithari (Phocis).

⁵³ Πέππα-Παππαϊωάννου 2010, 102; Merker 2000, 61. 105 pl. 17, C201.

⁵⁴ Merker 2000, 61 f. 125, C189. 190.

⁵⁵ Cf. shepherd or Τελεσφόρος from Hellenistic Amphipolis: Ρωμοπούλου 2013, 142. For the triangular θολία: Merker 2000, 109 C233; 114 C279. Figurines of children in late 5th cent. B.C. Thebes (Αραβαντινός 2010, 301) and Hellenistic Pella (Ακαμάτης et al. 2011, 78) wear comparatively taller pointed hats.

⁵⁶ Αδάμ-Βελένη et al. 2017 cat. 166 (350–300 B.C.); Burr Thompson 1963, 102.

⁵⁷ Their sacred dance is connected with the fertility of nature: Mallios 2004, 246 f. 263.

⁵⁸ Friesländer 2001, 15 fig. 11 versus the perplexed performance of the Persian ὄκλασμα: Αδάμ-Βελένη et al. 2017, cat. 339.

⁵⁹ Tsakos – Giannakopoulos 2014, 242, figs. 11. 12.



5 Clay figurines from the sanctuary at Erochos

is reminiscent of a dancing nymph⁶⁰. However, Demeter herself is represented in the same stance, in Samos⁶¹. Likewise on the move are the draped female figurines that lift the himation⁶² near their face to unveil themselves (?), while stepping on a rock or outcrop (figs. 8. 9). This seems to be an explicit allusion to natural landscape, the countryside, emblematic in the cult of Demeter. An analogous ›running maiden‹ at Dion is believed⁶³ to reproduce a Boeotian type of the first half of the 4th century B.C.

Motion bears allegoric connotations and we have referred to the processional transition from the Agora to the extramural sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene, spanning the distance from the city to the countryside. Eternal movement, an infinite cyclic dance is supposedly⁶⁴ alluded to in the arrangement of statues of priestesses encircling the cult statue of Artemis Φωσφόρος at Messene. The introverted looking

Tanagra woman from Erochos with a σάκκος-head-dress⁶⁵ possibly represents a priestess and so does the torch-bearer (δαδοῦχος)⁶⁶, although it is not clear whether the female figure holds a torch⁶⁷ or a cornucopia. Hieratic, too, was the context of the fragmentary hand holding a ritual object (incense burner?) or a tray with offerings⁶⁸. The high esteem of Demeter's priestess⁶⁹ can be inferred from the statues of Nikesso and Timonassa at Priene and primarily from the tessellated inscription on a mosaic floor in Acrocorinth reading »Οκτάβιος Ἀγαθόπους νεωκόρος ἐψηφοθέτησε ἐπὶ Χαρᾶς ἱερείας νεωτέρας«. The sanctuary was presided over by an eponymous priestess⁷⁰.

Another clay female head, with her wavy hair parted in the middle (typical hairstyle from 460 B.C. onwards)⁷¹, can be interpreted as κιστοφόρος or κανηφόρος. Cists were important ritual accessories in worshipping Demeter, as evident at Eleusis and

60 Friesländer 2001, 10 fig. 7.

61 Τσάκος – Βιγλάκη-Σοφιανού 2012, 193 (3rd cent. B.C.).

62 Cf. example from 4th cent. B.C. Thebes by Αραβαντινός 2010, 296 while collecting apples in a conical basket.

63 Πινγιάτογλου 2015, 68.

64 Connely cited by Mylonopoulos 2013, 124. 141, who nevertheless argues for the pedestals' a posteriori re-arrangement, in the 3rd cent. A.D.

65 Cf. Acrocorinth: Bookidis – Stroud 1987, 7 f.

66 Merker 2000, 259 H398 and H402; Πέππα-Παππαϊωάννου 2010, 125 elaborates on the relation of torch-bearers with Demeter and the *thesmophoria*.

67 As at Piraeus: Πέππα-Παππαϊωάννου 2010 figs. 108. 109.

68 Cf. the figurine of Βαυβώ holding a tray with offerings, from Pharsalos (Κατακούτα 2014, 443) and the one from Samos (Tsakos – Giannakopoulos 2014, 243, fig. 13).

69 Mylonopoulos 2013, 133 concludes that representations of priests in public spaces also commemorated their benefactions and noble acts. The priestesses of Demeter at Dion (Menekrite, Berenice and Mestria Nemesis) offered dedications after the end of their term: Πινγιάτογλου 2010, 212.

70 Bookidis – Fisher 1974, 281.

71 Πέππα-Παππαϊωάννου 2010, 107.



6 Clay figurine from the sanctuary at Erochos

Priene. Whether Erochos witnessed syncretism between Demeter and Isis, a process underway already in the Hellenistic period⁷², is under investigation. Fragmentary isolated pedestals in oval and rectangular shape⁷³ and different height are not missing from the repertoire of votive offerings at Erochos. A few sherds should be attributed to miniature moulded clay altars⁷⁴ rather than pedestals. The realistically rendered elderly figure⁷⁵ dates probably in the Hellenistic age.

The complex of three standing human figures poses a riddle (fig. 10). The closest parallel, so far, is the female triad on clay tablets of the Archaic and the Classical period, from Laconia. The silhouettes are roughly delineated and tentatively interpreted⁷⁶ as mortal worshippers. Also rendered as a triad are the Μοῖρες on a tablet from Kerameikos⁷⁷ dating to the late 6th century B.C. Probably representing some cultic rite are the clay tablets from Pylos, with a comparable triplet and an archaizing tendency⁷⁸.

The clay disc/medal with a dancing maenad in relief holding a thyrsus, as well as the grotesque figures of Pan playing the flute⁷⁹, the ithyphallic Silenos and the nurse-mimic, the figurines of comic actors⁸⁰, along with the painted Maenad, strongly indicate a parallel cult of Dionysos at Erochos – also evident in sanctuaries of Demeter at Acrocorinth⁸¹, Olympia⁸², Demetrias, Proerna and Larissa, where inscriptions⁸³ refer to Dionysos Κάρπιος and Demeter Φυλάκα. Likewise at Pella, the Dionysiac element infiltrated the *thesmophoria* celebration via Dionysos Ἀνθιος.

Turning, briefly, to metalwork retrieved from the sanctuary at Erochos, we single out the cut-out bronze sheets, which preserve rivet-holes, apparently to serve as metal attachments to cists/chests (or furniture). They may be a sign of luxury, granted their similarity to those from the Archaic temple of Apollo Ptoios in Boeotia⁸⁴. To the category of appliquéés we ascribe also a gorgon and a miniature shield with a punctuated palmette. Fragments of life-size bronze statues (finger and foot) testify to large-scale production beside the finely crafted small metal objects, such as the delicate handles of situlae or cists. Renowned among finds from Erochos is the fragment of a bronze vase incised with the dedicatory epigram⁸⁵ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ ΕΝ ΕΡΟΧΩΙ, which determined the site's identification. As concerns jewellery, we note the articulate fibulae, popular in Archaic Macedonia⁸⁶, bracelets with snake-shaped terminations⁸⁷ and pins with lotus buds (6th–4th centuries B.C.)⁸⁸. Quite extraordinary is the downsized bronze drill⁸⁹ (ἀρίδα),

72 Pachis 2004.

73 Compare Muller 1996, pl. 127; Merker 2000, 274 f. V33.

74 Compare Muller 1996, pl. 140.

75 Compare Bookidis – Stroud 1987, 7.

76 Salapata 2009.

77 Μπάνου – Μπουρνιάς 2014, 304.

78 Πέππα-Παππαϊωάννου 2017, 106–108.

79 Cf. the piping satyr from Corinth: Merker 2000, 78 C274.

80 Bookidis – Stroud 1987, 6 about the comic element in the cult of Demeter (e.g. Βαυβώ).

81 Masks and snakes coiled around baskets suggest the cult of Dionysos Sabazios (4th cent. B.C.–2nd cent. A.D.); Bookidis 2010, 144. 149; Bookidis – Fisher 1974, 291.

82 Silenos and theatrical masks connect Dionysos with Demeter Χαμύνη: Διάγκουρας 2007.

83 Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 2010, 186; Τιβέριος 2010, 26.

84 Αραβαντινός 2010, 164 f.

85 Klaffenbach 1935, 701; Pleket – Stroud 1977.

86 Μισαηλίδου-Δεσποτίδου 2011, cat. 376. 377; Δεσποίνη 2016, 602.

87 Δεσποίνη 2016, 605.

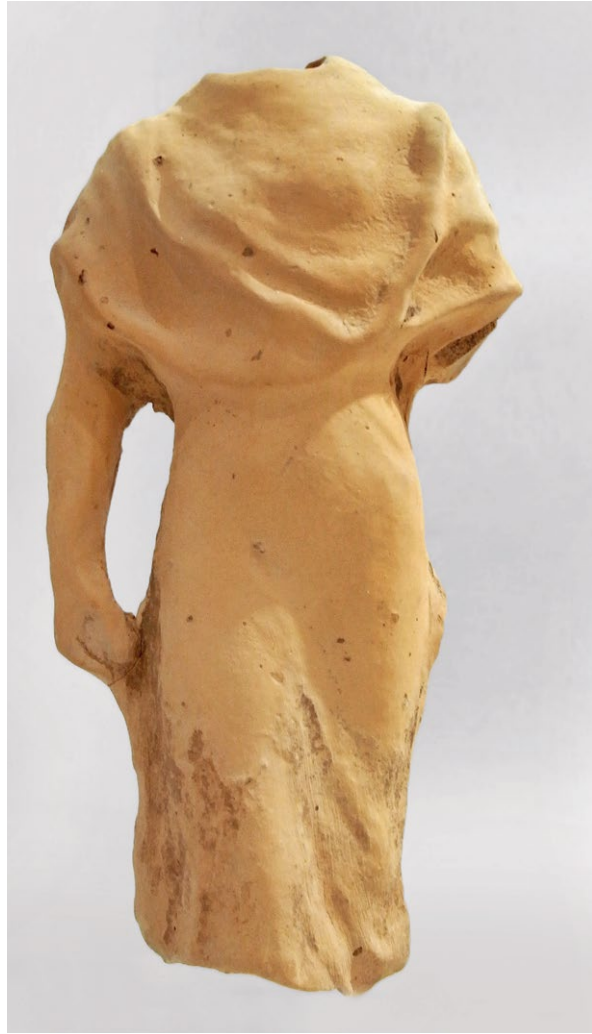
88 Κοτταρίδη 2013, 110.

89 Ορλάνδος 1994, 126 f.; Ματζάνας 1999 and 2001.

for masons rather than carpenters, due to its distinct edge to attain penetration through hard materials (below the spiral where the leather strap or rope was wrapped). The drill is bent, like other functional metal ex-votos (spits, nails), bringing to mind the ›killing of the sword‹ in Greek and European Iron Age graves⁹⁰.

The overview of the sanctuary's finds, layout and setting leads to some closing remarks. The votive offerings' rich variety, diversity, occasional luxury and their keeping abreast of contemporary trends suggest that this was more than a rural shrine for local peasants. Its advantageous proximity to the Great Isthmus corridor⁹¹ ensured accessibility regardless of the settlement's fortunes. The traffic of pilgrims in the sanctuary at Erochos situated between two highly frequented oracles verifies that segmentation into small religious nuclei (with socio-political implications) is an essential characteristic of the ancient Greek world⁹². A good portion of the finds date to the 4th–3rd centuries B.C., that is, during the turbulent period of the Macedonians' attack and the Phocian revolt. Influence from metal prototypes is probably relevant to the Macedonian domination and it is worth noting that no trace of damage to the sanctuary has been recorded (by contrast to what happened at Thermon), possibly because the Macedonians worshipped Demeter par excellence. Of course, contacts with the north had begun centuries earlier; the location of Erochos on the route of the Doric corridor contributed greatly. After their successful revolt, the people of Lilaia consecrated offerings at Delphi, while the sanctuary at Erochos was still operating. Its longevity up to Roman times⁹³ can be inferred from coinage, lamp sherds⁹⁴, the block inscribed with a dedicatory epigram ΣΙΕΒΑΣΤΩΙΚΑΙΤΩ of the Roman imperial period recovered near the Kephissos springs⁹⁵, and the aforementioned lotus-and-acanthus column capital retrieved also from the area near the springs.

In terms of topography and site-planning, the sanctuary of Erochos, remote and yet conspicuous, at the outskirts of the settlement and near its fortification, lacking monumental architecture but displaying a wide range of mostly small offerings, fits the description of a *thesmophorion* and it could be the one mentioned by Pausanias as associated with Drymaia⁹⁶,



7 Clay figurine from the sanctuary at Erochos

right across Kephissos. Natural landscape seems to be deliberately reflected in the iconography of ex-votos at Erochos. The establishment of the sanctuary of Erochos in the most fertile valley of Phocis near the ›divine‹ Kephissos⁹⁷ corroborates the message conveyed by the finds which denote a cult of εὐγονία, εὐετηρία, εὐκαρπία. In the same guise, as Καρποδότειρα, Demeter was worshipped at Tegea, too⁹⁸. By analogy with Erochos, her shrine there was located in a lowland oasis in the heart of the mountainous Arcadia and it prospered for about two centuries. Its excavation

⁹⁰ Wells 2012, 115 f.; Lloyd 2015.

⁹¹ Kase et al. 1991.

⁹² For relevant discussion: Polinskaya 2006, 79–90; Bremmer 2014, 166–179; see also Beck in this volume.

⁹³ Zachos 2016, 116 map 5.

⁹⁴ With ornaments typical of the first imperial centuries. Πινυιάτογλου 2004, 95.

⁹⁵ Νικοπούλου 1969, 216 f. barely reads one line. Θρεψιάδης 1973, 85 is indirectly informed about a ›stele inscribed on its three sides‹.

⁹⁶ Among principal places for this festival's celebration, after Paus. 10, 33, 6 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Δρυμία: Smith 1875.

⁹⁷ Paus. 10, 33, 7.

⁹⁸ Nagel 2006.



8 Clay figurine from the sanctuary at Erochos

yielded such an abundance of ceramic offerings that it was initially interpreted as a workshop.

We would like to conclude by addressing a probably misconstrued find. The assumption that Persephone was co-worshipped at Erochos⁹⁹ was based on an unpublished inscription of which the text, to judge by the transcript only¹⁰⁰,

MNA[Σ]ΙΚΑ[EIA]
ΔΑΜ[ΑΤΡΙ]
Κ[ΑΙΚΟΡΑ]Ι

is lacunary. In spite of this, the above reading has been handed down to us as a dedicatory epigram to both Demeter and Kore, perpetuating a speculation. Except for some indirect references, no drawing or picture of the inscription is traceable, as if nobody ever saw the actual find. Klaffenbach¹⁰¹ sufficed to describe the block as a cippus, rather than a stele, making no comment on the text. Neither Klaffenbach nor Fraser and Matthews offer a reading, as erroneously cited¹⁰². Petrakos¹⁰³ heard from Michaud what Klaffenbach was told by Karouzos but does not

⁹⁹ Ντάσιος 2015.

¹⁰⁰ Ντάσιος 2001–2004, 417 and Ντάσιος 2004, 66.

¹⁰¹ Klaffenbach 1935, 701.

¹⁰² Ντάσιος 2001–2004, 417 and Ντάσιος 2004, 66.

¹⁰³ Πετράκος 1972, 386.



9. 10 Clay figurines from the sanctuary at Erochos

even hint at the inscription in his comprehensive enumeration of finds from Erochos. Incomplete is also the dedicator's name, Mnasikleia¹⁰⁴. The brief report by Karouzos in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*¹⁰⁵, roughly delineating the picture of a yet incomplete excavation, is cited only by Klaffenbach and surprisingly, never again hitherto. Karouzos refers to the controversial inscription on a votive stele, as a stray find from the area of the excavation. Without spelling what he reads, he notes that the text names the female proprietor (singular case) of the sanctuary, worshipped probably in a chapel, as bespoken by the total absence of architectural elements. Of all the finds, which range from the 5th to the 2nd century B.C., he distinguishes the stamped tiles, while he gathers that some fire in the Hellenistic period destroyed this small shrine that supposedly served the needs of local peasants. Through our closer review of the evidence and the finds *within their natural landscape*, new parameters surface, such as the cult of the deified river (whose priests were stated in the aforementioned official documents set up in the Delphi sanctuary) obviously within some architectural setting. Interestingly, our proposal for a joint dedication to Demeter and Kephissos can be

accommodated in the available space between the extant letters:

MNA[Σ]ΙΚΛ[EIA]
ΔΑΜ[ΑΤΡΙ]
Κ[ΑΦΙΣΣΩ]Ι or¹⁰⁶ Κ[ΑΦΙΣΩ]Ι

The finds from Erochos clearly point to Dionysos among cult recipients – not unusual at *thesmophoria*¹⁰⁷. Architecturally, common to both deities' sanctuaries are the stepped theatrical constructions, stairways or tiers for cult and display purposes¹⁰⁸. The orientation of the adjacent oikoi at Erochos reasonably suggests the spot where sacral re-enactments and rites were attended. Demeter's co-existence with Dionysos and his entourage, together with the Kourotrophoi, the Nymphs and Kephissos, constitute a constellation of countryside deities. This local pantheon, inextricably intertwined with landscape, conveys the dynamics of polytheism¹⁰⁹, a salient factor in the structure of the ancient world. The broad scope of finds and the choice of locality, near the river spring, underline the goddess's qualification as παντοδότηρα mother Earth, as she appeared at Dion and in the Nile valley¹¹⁰. Her capacity as such accrues

¹⁰⁴ This ›alone‹ is provided by Chaniotis et al. 2009 and Fraser – Matthews 2000, s.v. Μνασίκλεια.

¹⁰⁵ Karouzos 1928b, 576 f.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the transcript of IG IX 1, 232 by Σβορώνος 1909, 170 (Καφισσώι) and Frazer 1898, 414 (Καφισώι).

¹⁰⁷ Where Dionysos is worshipped among Kourotrophos, Kalligeneia, Hermes, Charites and Pan: Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 2010, 186.

¹⁰⁸ Mylonopoulos 2006, no. 44.

¹⁰⁹ In this respect, the case of Erochos endorses the conclusions reached by Polinskaya 2006.

¹¹⁰ Pachis 2004, 168.

from Homer's Hymn to Demeter and Isocrates's Panegyricus¹¹¹, which extol the goddess's contradictory gifts to humanity¹¹²; knowledge of agriculture and the sacred mysteries. Initiation inspired the participants with hope for life and the afterlife. In this re-

spect, Demeter bestowed upon mankind a quality way of living.

Delphi
Delphi

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¹¹¹ Isoc. 4, 28.

¹¹² Stallsmith 2008, 115–131; Bremmer 2014, 166–179.

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Zwei Orakel überspannend. Das Heiligtum der Demeter in Erochos zwischen Delphi und Abai

Zusammenfassung Die Funde aus dem Heiligtum von Erochos decken eine breite Zeitspanne ab und reichen von feinen Bronzearbeiten bis hin zu Terrakottafiguren mit reicher Ikonographie. Die räumliche und architektonische Anordnung des Heiligtums wird in diesem Beitrag ebenso thematisiert wie eine Bewertung seiner Nähe zum ›dorischen Korridor‹. Wir untersuchen Aspekte des Kultes, um die in Erochos verehrten Gottheiten sowie ihre Beziehung zum Kult des Kephissos-Flusses zu bestimmen, die aus den architektonischen Überresten vor Ort sowie den epigraphischen Dokumenten im Heiligtum von Delphi hervorgehen. Weiterhin wird der Frage nachgegangen, ob es sich hierbei um das von Pausanias erwähnte Thesmophorion gehandelt haben könnte. Der Mangel an Erwähnungen dieses Ortes in antiken Quellen steht in scharfem Kontrast zu seiner Langlebigkeit als religiöses Zentrum, unabhängig von der (wahrscheinlichen) Eingliederung der Siedlung Erochos in das benachbarte Lilaia. Es lassen sich einige Rückschlüsse auf das lokale Pantheon und die Physiognomie des Heiligtums von Erochos ziehen, welches tief in der Landschaft verwurzelt ist.

Schlagwörter Phokis, Flussgott Kephissos, Thesmophorion, Votivgaben, Kultlandschaft

Spanning two oracles. The sanctuary of Demeter at Erochos, between Delphi and Abae

Abstract The finds from the sanctuary at Erochos cover a broad timespan and range from subtle bronze-work to terracotta figurines of rich iconography. This paper discusses the spatial arrangement and architectural layout of the sanctuary and evaluates its proximity to the ›Doric corridor‹. We explore aspects of cult to identify the divinities worshipped at Erochos and their relation to the cult of the Kephissos river, evident from in-situ architectural remains, as well as epigraphic documents set up in the sanctuary of Delphi. We then investigate whether this could have been the *thesmophorion* referred to by Pausanias. The scarcity of references to this site in ancient sources sharply contrasts with its longevity as a religious centre, regardless of the (likely) incorporation of the settlement of Erochos to that of neighbouring Lilaia. Some conclusions can be drawn about the local pantheon and the physiognomy of the sanctuary at Erochos which is deeply rooted in the landscape.

Keywords Phocis, river-god Kephissos, thesmophorion, votive offerings, cultic landscape

Ανάμεσα σε δύο μαντεία. Το ιερό της Δήμητρας στον Έρωχο, ανάμεσα στους Δελφούς και τις Άβες

Περίληψη Τα ευρήματα από το ιερό στον Έρωχο καλύπτουν ευρεία χρονική περίοδο και θεματολογία, από προσεγμένη χαλκοτεχνία μέχρι πήλινα αγαλματίδια με πλούσια θεματολογία. Αυτή η εργασία τα προσεγγίζει παράλληλα με θέματα χωρο-οργάνωσης και αρχιτεκτονικής διάταξης του ιερού και εκτιμάει την εγγύτητά του στον λεγόμενο Δωρικό Διάδρομο. Μέσα από τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα επιχειρούμε να ταυτίσουμε τις θεότητες που λατρεύονταν στον Έρωχο και τη σχέση τους με τη λατρεία του ποταμού Κηφισού, που προκύπτει όχι μόνο από τα αρχιτεκτονικά κατάλοιπα δίπλα στις πηγές του, αλλά επίσης από επιγραφικά κείμενα στο ιερό των Δελφών. Ακολουθώντας εξετάζουμε αν αυτό θα μπορούσε να είναι το Θεσμοφόριο που αναφέρει ο Πausanias. Η σπανιότητα των αναφορών για αυτήν την τοποθεσία στις αρχαίες πηγές αντιτίθεται έντονα στη μακροβιότητά της ως θρησκευτικού κέντρου, ανεξάρτητα από την (πιθανή) ενσωμάτωση του οικισμού του Ερώχου σε αυτόν της γειτονικής Λιλαίας. Καταλήγουμε σε ενδιαφέροντα συμπεράσματα αναφορικά με το τοπικό πάνθεον και τη φυσιγνωμία του ιερού στον Έρωχο, που είναι συνυφασμένη με το τοπίο και το άμεσο φυσικό περιβάλλον.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Φωκίδα, ποτάμιος θεός Κηφισός, Θεσμοφόριο, αναθήματα, λατρευτικό τοπίο